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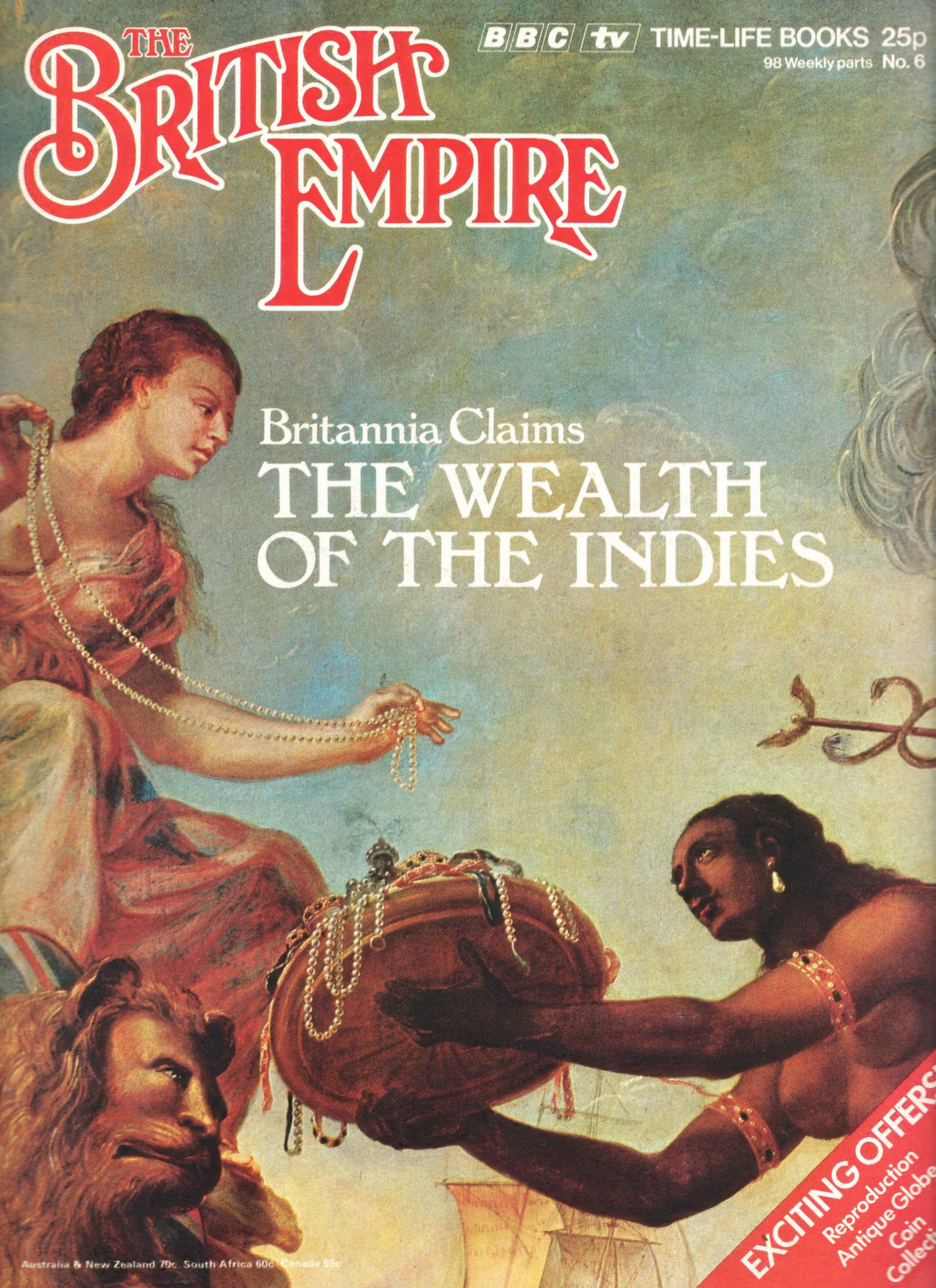

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THE WEALTH OF THE INDIES

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Wolfe's capture of Quebec guarantees continuing British rule in North America after the loss of the Thirteen Colonies.

Issue No. 8: The Storming of India.
Challenged by the French, harried by ambitious Indian rulers, the British struck – and seized Bengal, the key to Empire in the East.

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Cover: India presents her tribute of jewels to Britannia in a painting done for the East India Company in the late 18th Century.

Save this with tokens from issues 3, 4 and 5 for this offer.

These tokens are valuable see inside back cover.

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GLOBE TOKEN

THE WEALTH OF THE INDIES

Once the Armada had been beaten back by Elizabeth's seamen, English adventurers could turn their eyes towards India. Throughout the 17th Century, a handful of Englishmen struggled to tap the riches of the East for their employer, the East India Company. Their early trading-posts were precarious footholds on the edge of a sub-continent wracked by the conflict between the expanding Mughal Empire and the established Hindu rajahs. At times, the traders' efforts seemed hardly likely to reap the rewards promised by the allegorical painting above, commissioned for the Company's headquarters after success was achieved. But by the beginning of the 18th Century the Company had at last sown the seeds of Britain's Indian Empire

by **Michael Edwardes**

On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth I's Great Seal was affixed to the charter of the East India Company. On its face merely royal assent to a mercantile enterprise, the charter was to lead to the establishment of the British Empire in India. But there had been no thought of Empire in the minds of the 80 merchants of the City of London who had formed themselves into a company. Their aim was to tap the wealth of the Indies, not by conquest, but through sea trade – in gems, in indigo, in camphor and sulphur, above all in spices.

The trade with the Indies had been pioneered in the late 15th Century by the Portuguese, who were set on breaking the Muslim monopoly of the overland spice trade. Sailing round Africa to India, the Portuguese had spread their trading settlements to the spice islands of the Indonesian archipelago, and themselves became monopolists. At Lisbon, the merchants of Europe were forced to pay whatever the Portuguese chose to ask.

The demand for spices nevertheless remained high for a simple but compelling reason. From autumn to spring, the Elizabethans – at least, those who could afford it – ate a great deal of salt meat. Even when fresh meat reappeared on their tables in summer, it was poor in quality and taste. Moreover, in order to protect the fishing industry a law had been passed requiring fish to be eaten on two days in every week. Such pallid food could only be enlivened – again, solely by the rich – with spices.

All had been well until 1580. Up to that time, the Dutch, who handled most of the spice trade in northern Europe, had been able to collect their supplies at Lisbon. But in that year Spain annexed Portugal, and the Dutch, then in rebellion against their Spanish overlords, were no longer able to buy at the Portuguese capital. Spices were still available through middlemen, but prices rose so sharply that the Dutch decided to fit out a fleet and attempt to deal directly with the producers in the East Indies. The Dutch fleet set out in 1595, returning two and a half years later with a large cargo of spices and other exotic merchandise. The Portuguese monopoly, so long the dominant influence in the European spice trade, had been broken.

The English, also denied access to the market at Lisbon, had been less adventurous but by no means idle. Sir Francis Drake – who in circumnavigating the world had reached the spice islands in 1579 – had confirmed the rich potentialities of direct trade with the Indies. In 1583, four Englishmen set off overland to India; only one – Ralph Fitch – returned. Then, in 1588, the defeat of the Spanish Armada removed the greatest obstacle to the sea-route round the Cape. In 1591, three ships left Plymouth for the East Indies. Only one, the *Edward Bonaventure*, reached Indonesia, and it was shattered by a storm on the return journey. Some of the crew survived, including the captain, James Lancaster, who returned to England in 1594. It was to Lancaster that the "Governor and Company of merchants of London trading into the East Indies" turned to command their first expedition.

Lancaster set sail in 1601, for Acheh

in Sumatra. He carried with him in his five little ships £30,000 in gold and silver coin, iron and tin and lead, and a large supply of the famous English broadcloth. Also aboard were costly presents and a letter from Queen Elizabeth. Leaving a number of merchants behind in Sumatra to "settle a factory" (a word then used to describe a trading-station), Lancaster set out for England in 1603 with a cargo of spices worth more than a million pounds. The venture was a success. All the ships returned, fully loaded. Lancaster was knighted, and the Company authorized a second voyage.

The merchants Lancaster had left behind in the East Indies established their station not in Sumatra, but at Bantam in Java. They found it difficult to sell their English goods, particularly the heavy broadcloth, which was left rotting in the warehouses. But they learned very quickly that there was a large demand in the islands for the fine cotton cloths of India. It was decided in London, on their advice, that the third voyage of the Company's ships should touch on the west coast of India to acquire some cotton cloth.

On August 24, 1608, the first English ship to reach an Indian port anchored off the town of Surat, about 170 miles north of present-day Bombay. The choice of Surat was made for several reasons, the most compelling, in the words of a contemporary traveller, being that it was "a city of great trade in all classes of merchandise, a very important sea port, yielding a large revenue to the king and frequented by many ships from Malabar and all parts." In addition, Surat happened not to be owned by the Portuguese, who still considered the India trade their exclusive monopoly.

Surat lay some 20 miles from the mouth of the river on which it stood, and seagoing vessels had to anchor at some distance from the town itself. The commander of the English fleet, William Hawkins, was politely received by the local authorities on a great open space before the fort, which, according to one of those present, was "well walled and ditched, reasonable great and fair," with a large number of guns, "some of them of exceeding greatness." But the officials were not very helpful; for permission to trade, they said, Hawkins must apply to the Governor, whose headquarters were at Cambay, 100 miles to the north.

Some of the Latin names on this 16th-Century Portuguese map of the East Indies are recognizable. Other archaic names, like *Magnu(m) mare orie(n)tale* (Great Eastern Sea), have long since fallen out of use.

When Hawkins's messenger returned from Cambay, he brought with him permission for the English to sell the goods they had brought – but also the unwelcome information that only the Emperor himself could grant the right to set up a trading-establishment. Hawkins had no alternative; he would have to go to Agra, the capital, himself.

He already knew something of the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, and his vast dominions. Travellers had reported the great wealth and power of the Empire which then controlled most of the northern part of India, and was still expanding towards the independent Hindu states of the south. Ralph Fitch had described the Mughal capital of Agra as "much greater than London and very populous." The Emperor's stables contained "1,000

This early painting shows the first English trading-post in India, set on a spur of land adjoining Surat, under attack by the Portuguese, earlier arrivals who resented the new competition. The small settlement was the scene of many such skirmishes.

elephants, 30,000 horses" and all kinds of exotic animals, "very strange to see." As for the markets, they were "a great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silk and cloth and of precious stones, both rubies, diamonds, and pearls." Hawkins, it seemed, would have to tread carefully, for what had he to offer so rich a monarch?

Before he left for Agra, Hawkins also learned that he faced opposition from the Portuguese, who intended to prevent him from winning the Emperor's permission to trade. During their years of trading, the Portuguese had gained great favour among Indian rulers, and they counted on using all of their influence to frustrate the English, whose arrival promised trouble. In fact the Portuguese, still a power to be reckoned with on the sea, had already seized two English boats filled with local Indian goods. Hawkins's protest to the Mughal Governor brought no response, and a complaint to the Captain-Major of the Portuguese, pointing out that King James would hardly approve of the poor treatment handed out to his commissioned traders, produced only insults: "the proud rascal braved so much, so the messenger told me, most vilely abusing His Majesty, terming him King of Fishermen and of an island of no import."

There had also been several attempts on Hawkins's life. Once he was cornered on the sea-shore by a band of Portuguese, and his life was saved by the intervention of a Mughal officer; and once his men had to repulse a group of 30 or 40 ruffians who besieged his house.

Sending his ships on to Bantam, Hawkins set off for Agra surrounded by a hired bodyguard of 50 Pathan horsemen – a wise precaution, as it turned out. The Portuguese had arranged for him to be ambushed on the way, but the British party proved too strong for their attackers.

Passing through Burhampur – which the British insisted on calling "Brampor" – Hawkins reached the Mughal capital, where he was well received. Although the Jesuit priests at Court had been intriguing against him on behalf of the Portuguese before he arrived, Hawkins seems to have caught the Emperor's fancy, at least temporarily. Perhaps this was because he could speak Turkish, the native language of the original Mughal conquerors and still in use by the imperial family in Agra.

He was invited to stay at Court, and was offered a woman from the palace. Insisting only that she be a Christian, Hawkins accepted and was given an Armenian girl, whom he later married. He was made a Court official, too, and awarded a large salary. He found himself, in fact, "in great favour . . . to the grief of all mine enemies."

However, these enemies – "Jesuits and Portugalls," he called them – "slept not, but by all means sought my overthrow; and, to say the truth, the Muhammadands near the King envied much that a Christian should be so nigh unto him."

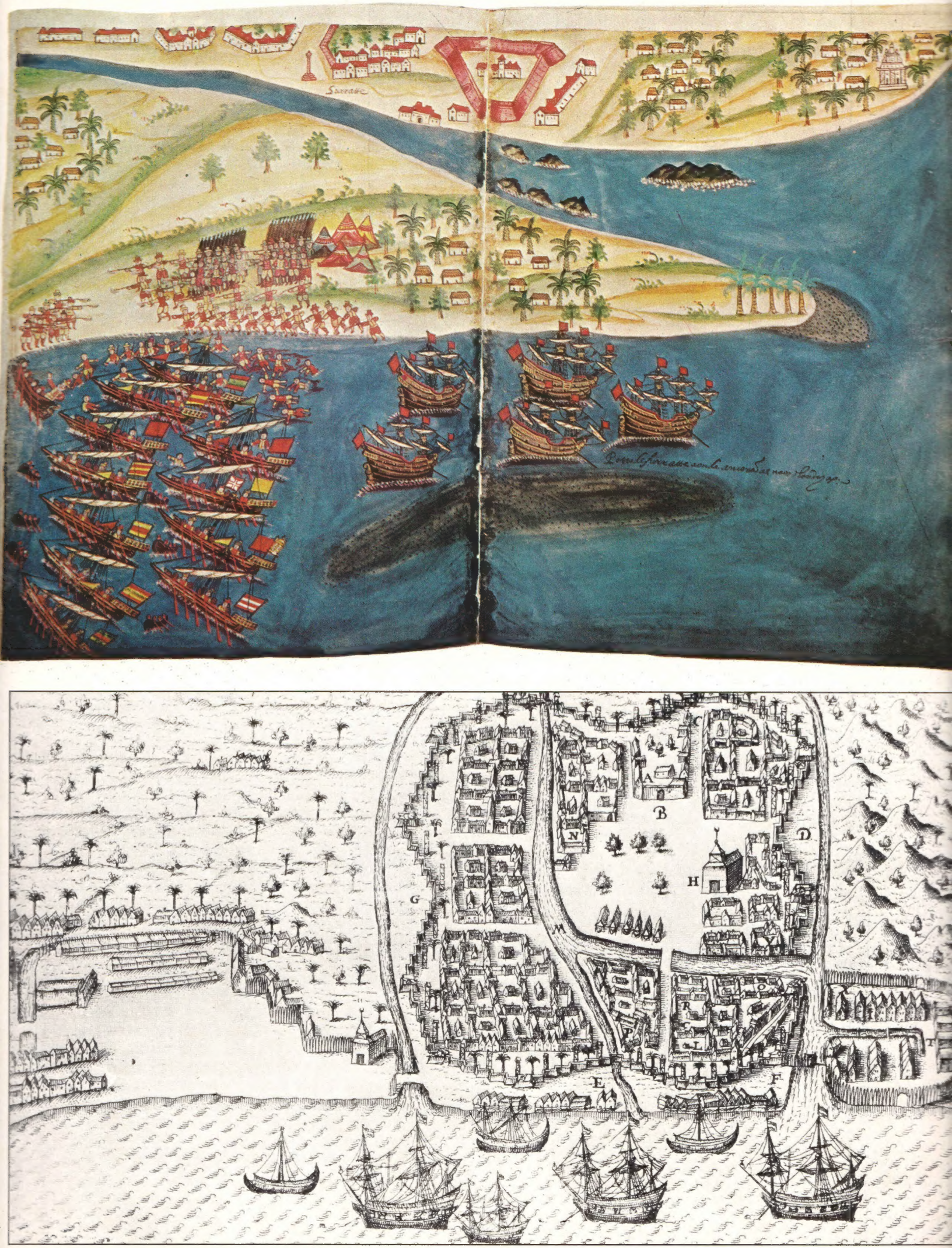
But Portuguese opposition, imperial vacillation and Hawkins's own tactlessness brought failure. Privileges were granted, and then cancelled. Hawkins, an arrogant man, who never understood the subtleties of diplomacy, appeared at Court smelling of liquor on one of the rare occasions when the hard-drinking Emperor was trying to give it up, and this brought him a public reprimand and a quick loss of prestige. He and his Armenian wife left Agra for England in November, 1611.

One thing at least was clear – the English would not be able to trade at Surat until they had decisively defeated the Portuguese at sea, thus showing the Emperor they were men to be reckoned with. The following year they did. A Portuguese fleet attacked two English vessels, the *Red Dragon* and the *Ozeander*, off Surat. The *Dragon* upped anchor, sailed between two enemy vessels and loosed off a broadside at each. She then drove three other galleons on to a sandbank, while the speedy *Ozeander* so "danced the hay" about the others "that they durst not show a man on the decks." This was the first of a series of defeats in minor actions that were finally to end Portuguese dominance.

The English victories impressed the Governor of Surat and, through him, the Court of Agra. Though powerful on land, the Mughal Empire was weak at sea – indeed the Emperor regarded naval warfare as a degrading pastime suitable only for Europeans – and Portuguese influence at Court was a direct consequence of that weakness. Could the English be used to break the Portuguese? To the annoyance of the Portuguese, the English were allowed to set up a factory in Surat in 1613 – an advance rapidly reinforced by the dispatch of the first British Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, a courtier who, the Company's merchants thought when they urged his appointment, would "breed regard" for the English and win for them a formal trade treaty.

Roe, a big man with a loud voice, who sported an immaculate moustache and goatee beard, refused to be intimidated by Court officials and etiquette. He was an Ambassador from the Court of King James himself, not some rough merchant, even if he was also working for Company interests. On arrival at Surat, he refused to go through customs. At Agra, invited to meet the Emperor, he refused to make the traditional gesture of touching the floor with his forehead. He stepped into the enclosure round the Emperor, reserved for the highest nobles, and demanded a chair to sit on. The courtiers were horrified. He did not get the chair, but he did succeed in bending Court etiquette a fraction: "I was desired as a courtesy to ease myself against a pillar covered with silver that held up his canopy."

Roe found the Mughal Court a mixture of brutality and refinement. Hawkins's old friend the Emperor was casual and drunken and occasionally viciously cruel: Yet the arts flourished under his patronage. He was curious about the outside world and his first question to an Ambassador always concerned the presents he had brought. Though the Company did send Jahangir a coach and four, it could scarcely rival rajahs who gave their ruler trains of jewel-laden elephants. Indeed, having heard of the munificence of Oriental courts, the English even expected that their Ambassador would receive a generous handout from the



By 1516, the date of this engraving, Dutch merchant ships called regularly at Bantam in Java to barter Chinese goods for Javanese pepper.

Emperor. Instead Jahangir, who had a sense of humour, sent the Ambassador only a wild boar, a male criminal, and a female slave ("a grave woman of forty years"). Roe recorded in his diary in June, 1616, that the Emperor's generosity had amounted to "hoggs flesh, a theefe and a whore."

Roe's unbending sense of his own importance as an Ambassador impressed the Court: "one Portugal will beat three Hindus," Jahangir was reported to say, "and one Englishman three Portugals." When he left Agra in November, 1618, Roe took with him a letter from Jahangir to King James assuring him of "good usage" for the English, and an agreement granting favourable conditions for English trade at Surat.

While he had not been able to negotiate a formal treaty, Roe had raised English prestige. As his chaplain, the Reverend Edward Terry, was to write later: "There can be no dealing with this king upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny. Yet we Englishmen did not at all suffer by that inconstancy of his, but found there a free trade, a peaceable residence, and a very good esteem with that king and people; and much the better . . . by reason of our Lord Ambassador, who was . . . like Joseph in the court of Pharaoh, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better."

Regardless of the fact that they might "fare the better" in India, the English were losing ground in their original market, the spice islands. In Europe the English and the Dutch were allies against Spain and Portugal, but in Asia they were rivals. The Dutch, in greater force and with better ships, dominated the seas, chasing and sinking their allies whenever they could. In the islands, they were coercing local rulers into granting monopolies, setting up forts, using armed force to make the inhabitants trade with them, and not with the English.

It was war, Roe warned. "You must speedily look to this maggot," he wrote home; but there was little that could be done. A treaty of mutual defence, which

In this painting, which indicated the Indian reaction to thrusting Western traders, the Mughal Emperor discourses with a sage, while James I (lower left) and the Sultan of Turkey sit importunately at his feet.

Sir Thomas Roe, England's Ambassador to India in 1615, spent four years at Jahangir's Court trying to negotiate a trade agreement for British merchants.

in theory provided for the sharing of trade, was signed between England and Holland in 1619, but it had little effect on the situation in the East for the Dutch were determined to drive the English from the spice islands. They succeeded, by means of what came to be known as the "Massacre of Amboyna" – without which there might never have been a British Empire in India.

Amboyna, in the Moluccas, was the headquarters of the Dutch and the principal centre for the spice trade. The town was protected by a strong fort, manned by a large garrison of Dutch troops. The English in Amboyna – some 20 men, none of them soldiers – ran a small factory. Yet these few traders, together with 12 Japanese, were accused of conspiring to seize the fort and expel the Dutch. A Japanese mercenary employed by the Dutch fell under suspicion, was tortured, and "confessed" – "having endured pretty long," the Dutch said – that the Japanese planned to take the fort. Under further torture he implicated the English. An Englishman, imprisoned in the fort after getting drunk and setting fire to a Dutchman's house, was also tortured and "confessed." Finally, in February, 1623, ten Englishmen and nine Japanese were executed for conspiring to assassinate the Dutch Governor.

When the news reached London there were demands for reprisals. The Company maintained that it could not continue to trade in the East Indies "except the Dutch make real restitution for damages, execute justice upon those who had in so great fury and tyranny tortured and slain the English, and give security for the future." Restitution – £85,000 – only came 30 years later, after the Dutch were defeated in Europe, but for the time being the traders had to put up with their loss.

During the decades that followed the massacre, the Company slowly withdrew its agents from the spice islands, stubbornly holding on to bases only at Bencoolen in Sumatra and at Bantam. In 1682, these, too, fell to the Dutch and the Company would not return to the islands for decades. The great profits the merchants had hoped for – anything up to 2,500 per cent on a shipload of spices – were now denied to them. India produced some spices in the extreme south, but there was no chance of gaining a monopoly there. Powerful local rulers and merchants had no intention of losing their bargaining power over rival groups of European traders.

Whether they liked it or not, the English were forced to take Roe's advice, which he had given before the Massacre of Amboyna in 1623. "Let this be received as a rule," he had said, "that, if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade for . . . it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India."

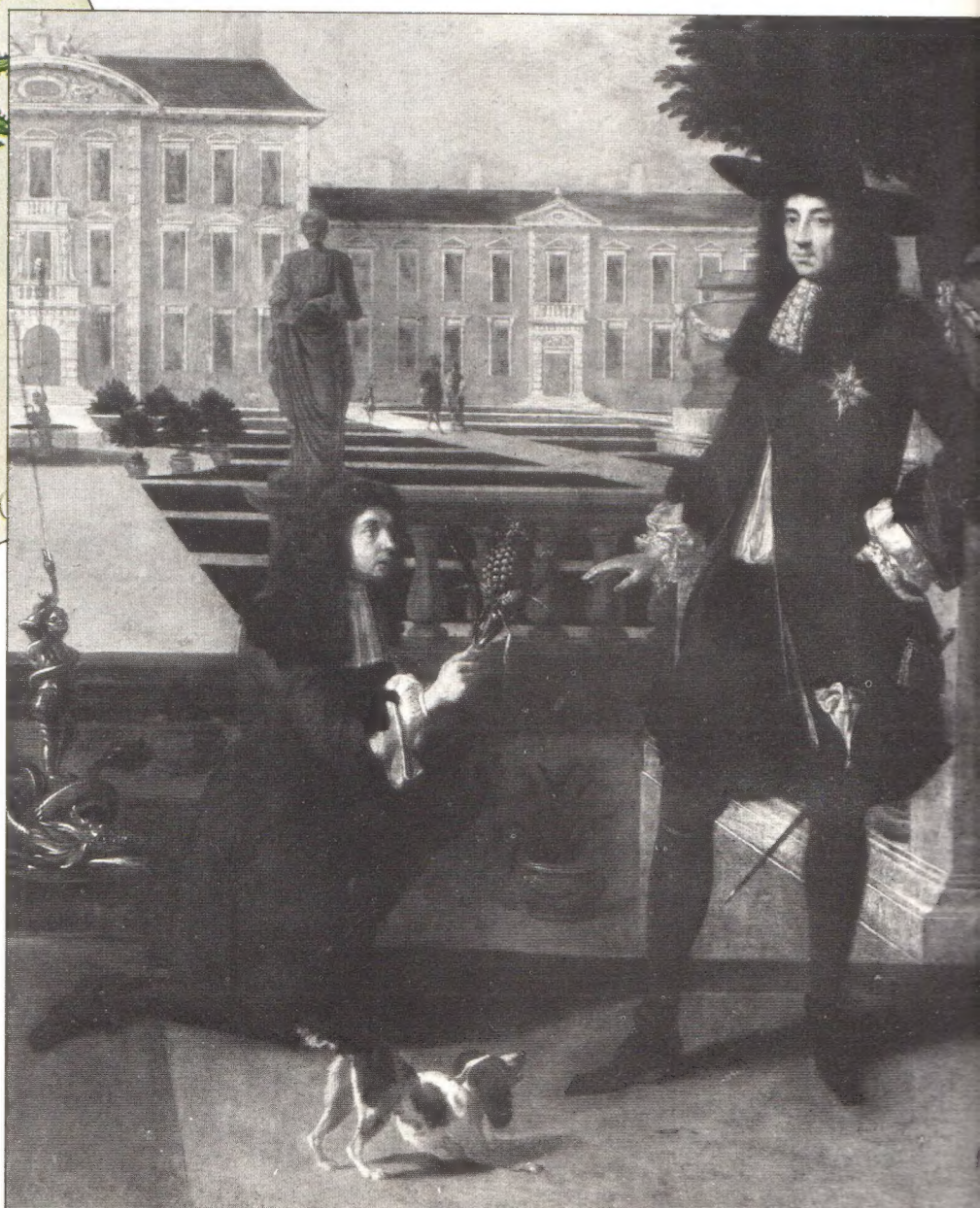
Dutch settlers at Amboyna torture an English merchant with candles and cascades of water prior to the massacre of 1623 that put an end to British trading in the East Indies.

The pomegranate and other novel Eastern products are depicted in the 17th-Century paintings seen here.

EXOTIC NOVELTIES FROM THE EAST

In the 17th Century the wealth of a man could be measure in spices – cinnamon and cloves, nutmeg and pepper – an it was the search for spices that spurred skippers and navigators to discover new trade-routes across the oceans to the fabled Indies. Exotic fruits, unfamiliar beverages, luxurious silks and precious gems were also part of the rich Oriental cargoes that came to England in the sturdy ships of the merchant venturers.

Pineapples (above) were first seen by Christopher Columbus at Guadaloupe Island in 1493. Explorers and missionaries introduced the spiky fruit to India and the East Indies at the end of the 16th Century and soon it was being exported to England. In the scene on the right the Royal Gardener presents the first pineapple ever to be grown in England to King Charles II at Dawny Court, near Windsor.



Pepper has been treasured since antiquity; in 408 Alaric the Goth demanded 3,000 pounds of it as part of the ransom for Rome.

The fruit of the date-palm, native to India and North Africa, became a popular titbit in England, and the dried palm leaves were used in religious ceremonies.

The coconut palm of the East Indies and the Pacific gave Europe oil for soap from the kernel, food from the nut and matting woven from the fibres of the shell.

To force a Breaſt of Veal.

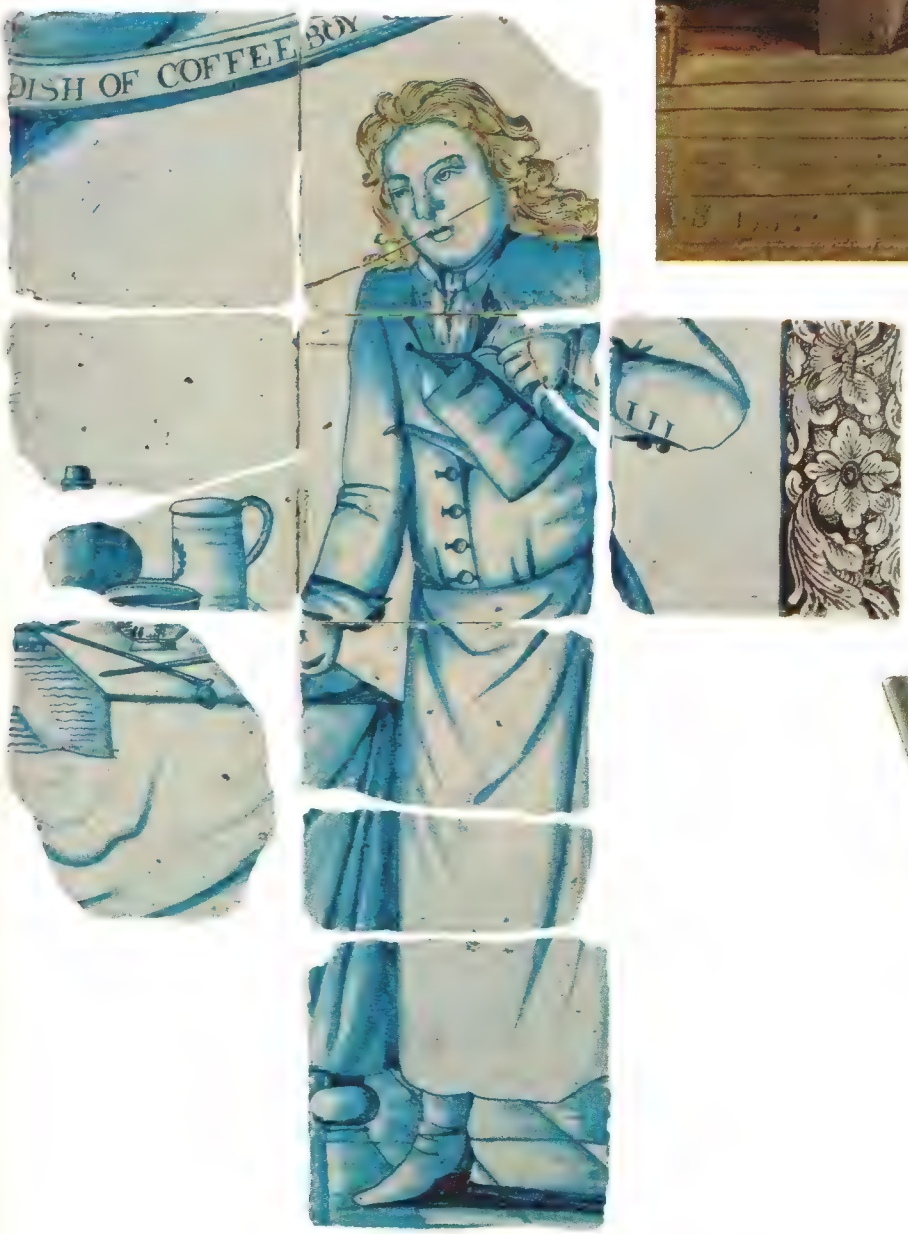
MInce ſome veal or mutton with ſome beef-ſuet or fat bacon, and ſome ſweet herbs minced alſo, and ſeaſoned with ſome cloves, mace, nutmeg, pepper, two or three raw eggs and ſalt: then prick it up, the breaſt being filled at the lower end, and ſtew it between two diſhes with ſome ſtrong broth, white wine, and large mace; then an hour after have ſweet herbs picked and ſtripped, time, ſorrel, parſley, ſweet Marjoram bruiſed with the back of a ladle, and put it into your broth with ſome beef-marrow and give it a walm; then diſh up your breaſt of veal o fine ſippets finely carved, broth it, and lay on it ſlic't l mon, marrow, mace, and barberries, and run it over wi beaten butter.

If you will have the broth yellow, put ſaffron into it.

As this 1660 recipe demonstrates, aromatic spices and sweet herbs were essential to 17th-Century cooks, who used them to disguise the flavour of old, overripe meat.

Tokens of copper, pewter or leather, like this one advertising various wares, were used by coffee-houses to supplement scarce small change, and to ensure return visits.

Coffee-houses, the "penny universities" of the 17th Century, were famed for the "universal liberty of speech" which was aired over coffee and newspapers.



Boys, like the one shown on this 17th-Century sign made of tiles, were employed to rush from table to table, serving the customers with their "dishes of coffee."

A silver coffee-pot, a gift to the East India Company in 1681, is engraved with its arms.

Convivial Coffee Spiced and Plain

In 1668, it is recorded, a favourite drink of the New York colonists was a beverage made from roasted coffee beans, flavoured with honey and cinnamon.

The English, however, preferred a plain, unadulterated brew. At one point in the beverage's early history, some coffee-drinkers added sugar candy or, incredibly, mustard, but this was a fleeting phase and the "bitter black drink," as Samuel Pepys described it, rapidly became England's most popular beverage.

"It will prevent Drowsiness and make one fit for business": this was the reasonable claim of Pasqua Rosée, founder of London's first coffee-house in 1652. And, he went on somewhat less reasonably, this "simple innocent drink . . . will very much stop any Defluxion of the Rheums. . . . It is excellent to prevent and cure any Dropsy, Gout and Scurvy."

As a medicinal aid, coffee, was a failure, but it revolutionized English social life. By the early 1700s London boasted 2,000 coffee-houses, and every Londoner of means had his favourite. Whigs congregated at St. James's Coffee House, the Tories at the Cocoa Tree. Will's was the resort of poets and critics, Truby's of the clergy. Edward Lloyd's coffee-house in Lombard Street was a haven for seamen and merchants. For his customers' convenience, Lloyd compiled "ships' lists" – the first Register of Shipping. Soon marine insurers gathered there – and a world-famous insurance centre was born.

To avoid the weakening of their flavours, all spices were stored in compact, airtight containers, such as the one on the right. Another essential in the well-equipped 17th-Century kitchen was the nutmeg-grater, often elaborately designed like the "shoe" above with a grater on the sole.

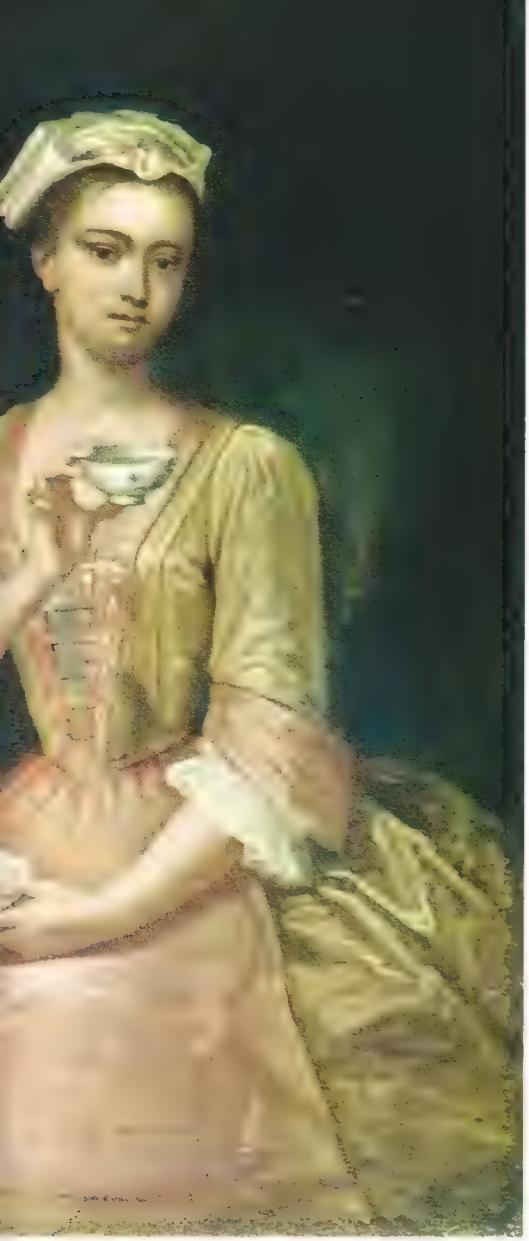
Powdered cinnamon was prepared from the dried bark of the cinnamon plant and imported from the East Indies and Ceylon for use in coffee and in many food recipes.

The daily ritual of afternoon tea, served on the best china and silver as shown here, was a genteel custom started by Anna, Duchess of Bedford, who had tea and cakes at five o'clock each day to allay the "sinking feeling" she had at that time.

"Fine tea" is first on the list of delicacies offered on the advertising-card of an 18th-Century coffee-house, the Great Mogul.

This wrought-silver casket of 1683, surmounted by a serpent handle, contained sugar – which was considered a luxury until the 18th Century.

The first tea-sets were of fragile translucent Chinese porcelain, like this cup and saucer of the K'ang Hsi dynasty (1682–1722). The habit of taking "a dish of tea" stems from these delicate, handle-less cups.



"Cups That Cheer but not Inebriate"

The first newspaper advertisement for tea appeared in 1658 in *Mercurius Politicus*. It announced the arrival of "that excellent and by all Physitians approved China drink, called by the Chineans *Tcha*, by other nations, *Tay*, alias *Tee*."

In the next 20 years, thousands of well-to-do Londoners came to enjoy the tea brought to England in the great ships of the East India Company and served up in London coffee-houses.

By the middle of the 18th Century, everybody was drinking tea at home. In his *Farmer's Letters* for 1767 Arthur Young complained that "as much superfluous money is expended on tea and sugar as would maintain four millions more subjects on bread."

Tea had become a national habit – and a very serious rival to spirits and beer. "The cups that cheer but not inebriate," which the poet William Cowper drew from the "loud-hissing urn" in his parlour, were just as well known and appreciated in the labourer's cottage. In 1797, Sir Frederick Eden wrote that "in poor families tea is not only the usual beverage in the morning and evening, but is generally drank in large quantities at dinner." The only difference in the tea-drinking by the rich and the poor was the huge amount of sugar with which the poor sweetened their tea.

China, and later India and Ceylon, were the tea-producing areas, but not all the tea in England had passed across the Company wharves. In 1784 it was calculated that less than half of the 13 million pounds of tea consumed had been taxed; smuggling accounted for the rest. Rather than fight a losing battle, the Prime Minister, William Pitt, lowered the duties, which sharply reduced smuggling and increased customs revenues.

The most important item in the tea-service was the pot: this elegant Queen Anne silver pot, like the one in the painting on the left, has its own lamp to keep the brew hot.

A tea-caddy of 1730 is engraved by William Hogarth, famed for his moralizing paintings.

Bangles Baubles and Finery

By the 1660s great quantities of silks and cottons from India enlivened with the colour and sparkle of precious stones – "embroidered cloths enwrought with golden and silver light" – were brought into England by the East Indiamen. For the ladies of society these cloths were as essential as the flashing gems that also came from India.

"As ill weeds," declared the Whig politician Sir Henry Pollexfen in 1681, "so these manufactured goods from India met with such a kind reception that from the greatest gallants to the meanest Cook Maids, nothing was thought so fit to adorn their persons as the Fabrick from India."

The "meanest Cook Maids" had, in fact, been wearing Indian fabrics – of the inexpensive kind – long before they became high fashion, and Daniel Defoe wryly noted in 1708 that "such is the power of the mode as we saw our persons of quality dressed in Indian carpets, which but a few years before their chambermaids would have thought too ordinary for them."

An officer of the East India Company – probably one of the first members of the new rich called "nabobs" – appears in the turban and silk robes of an Indian prince.

Part of a silk-embroidered cotton wall-hanging from Gujrat in West India, shows the exquisitely detailed tiny animals, exotic birds and English flowers that were included to please British buyers.

The glazed chintz overdress of this full-bodied gown, brilliantly hand-painted on the Coromandel coast of India in 1770, is lined with silk to give an even more opulent effect.

A lacquered jewel-casket from the Deccan area of India is decorated with painted scenes drawn from Indian legends.

Cornflower-blue sapphires from Kashmir, flashing square-cut emeralds and pigeon's blood rubies of Burma poured into England to meet the rising demand for precious gems.

II. On the Brink of Disaster

For the English, the ten years after Amboyna were years of eclipse. Only after 1634, when a lasting peace was made with Portugal, did trade begin to expand. The Company entered the coffee and tea trade; Oxford acquired England's first coffee-house in 1649. At the new settlement of Madras, acquired in 1640, its officials first began to behave like local rulers. Two outcasts from the English settlement had murdered "a common whore for her jewels," and the local Rajah gave the merchants "express command to do justice upon the homicides according to the law of England"; otherwise, he said, he himself would act according to custom. The English decided that they were "unwilling to give away our power to those who are too ready to take it." So they "did justice on them [the murderers] and hung them on a gibbet."

By the 1640s, too, the Company's trading-posts in India had grown to 25, most of them scattered round the coast, employing 100 people at a total salary of around £5,000.

This may not seem a very large sum, even in relation to the mid-17th Century, but the English managed to live in some comfort. At Surat, the head merchant – known as the "President" – was in charge of all the trading-stations in western India and Persia, as well as that at Bantam, one of the two surviving posts in the islands. His salary was £500 a year and there were extra allowances to enable him to maintain the kind of appearances necessary to impress the Indians. When he went out, he rode in a palanquin, preceded by armed soldiers, flag-men, mace-bearers and a servant carrying a large ostrich-feather fan, a procession much like that of contemporary Indian noblemen. The factory was a large house of stone and timber, the lower floors used for trading and storing goods, while the upper storey contained the living accommodation. Near at hand were other buildings, a bath-house, and a chapel.

The English, most of them Puritans who combined business with an ostentatious piety, began their day at dawn with prayers and closed it, at about eight or nine in the evening, with additional addresses to the Deity. On Sunday there were two services, which all the English were expected to attend to hear a suitable sermon by the President or chaplain.

The Company's employees were divided into three classes – merchants, factors and writers. Their salaries were very low, a writer receiving £10 a year, a factor £20, and a merchant £40, all plus free food and lodging. Fortunately, there was a custom among the Indian traders of presenting the English with valuable presents once a year, which, as one visitor put it, "prevent the necessity of any great annual expense, and happily contribute towards giving them a life of delight and ease."

When he rose at sunrise, a factor would "comfort the stomach" with "burnt wine" – brandy. At six he would hurry to the chapel (he could be fined for non-attendance). After prayers, the factory gates were opened and the Indian brokers and traders would stream in. Everything depended on the broker. He was "interpreter, head book-keeper, head secretary, the supplier of cash and cash-keeper." He conducted "all the trade of his master, to whom, unless pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is difficult for any of the natives to obtain access."

Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughal Emperors, defeated his brothers in battle and imprisoned his father, Shah Jehan, to clear his way to the throne in 1658.

A 17th-Century painting of ships loading and

The brokers arranged all purchases, negotiated with the weavers of the fine cloths for which the area was famous, and saw that there were regular supplies of cotton yarn.

At midday the gates were closed, and the English – except for the President, who ate in his own rooms – made for the dining-hall. On the table were plates and cups of silver. A servant brought round a silver jug and basin for washing the hands while Indian, Portuguese and English cooks waited to present their national dishes, "so as to please the curiosity of every palate." There would be a wide variety of curries and plenty of chutneys and sauces. Fowls stewed in butter and stuffed with almonds and raisins would be washed down with "generous Shiraz wine and arrack punch."

nloading at an Indian port presents a handsome vista but rival English, Dutch and Spanish ships did not, in fact, share trade in such harmony.

On Sundays and holidays, the menu became even larger and more splendid, with venison, peacocks, apricots, plums and cherries, European wines and bottled beer. Sixteen main dishes and a vast amount of alcohol were the rule, and it is little wonder that the English retired afterwards for a siesta until the gates were once again opened for trade at four o'clock. At six the day's business ended, to be followed by "an hour or two with a cold collation and bottle of wine."

No one was allowed outside the factory after supper without permission. This rule was mainly designed to keep the younger men away from prostitutes and from brawling in the town. As there were no Englishwomen in the factory, however, breakouts were not infrequent.

To help their employees with their moral problems, the Company supplied a quantity of "improving books." But they do not seem to have been effective, and the Company was finally forced to order the President to send back to England anyone who could not resist "drunkenness . . . fornication and uncleanness."

But behind the occasional pleasures of factory life and the slowly expanding trade figures lay a harsher reality: times were desperately precarious between 1630 and 1660. In India, a famine in 1630 had killed thousands, among them weavers on whose products the Company so heavily relied. Fabrics remained in short supply. The hinterland, constantly fought over by princely rivals for power, was too disturbed for the safe transit of goods, and the small British coastal ships were in continual danger from pirates. In 1653 the appointment of Aurangzeb, tyrannical son of Emperor Shah Jahan, as Mughal Viceroy of the southern regions known as the Deccan brought oppression and pillage to the foreign merchants. Levies and customs dues were arbitrarily fixed and extorted. Bribes grew heavier and threats more constant.

At home, civil war was brewing between King Charles I and Parliament, whose members included many Company merchants. In an attempt to crush his merchant opponents, the King in 1635 granted a charter to a rival group of traders headed by Sir William Courteen, who had until then been one of the many interlopers – pirate traders who encroached on the Company's trading area in search of quick profits.

When civil war broke out in England in

1642, the Company was squeezed between the opposing factions. The King seized the Company's supplies of pepper, a commodity of enormous value, and Parliament requisitioned guns meant for the Company's ships.

The Puritan victory brought no respite. During the period of Cromwell's Commonwealth, the Company's very existence was threatened time and again. For three years, the Dutch, at war with England over Cromwell's attempt in 1651 to forbid any imports into English territory except those brought by English ships, attacked Company vessels.

In 1655, when arbitration produced the £85,000 from the Dutch in compensation for the Company's losses at Amboyna, Cromwell, the Lord Protector, announced that he had "great occasion at present for money." He borrowed £46,000 of the award "for twelve months" and the Company never saw it again.

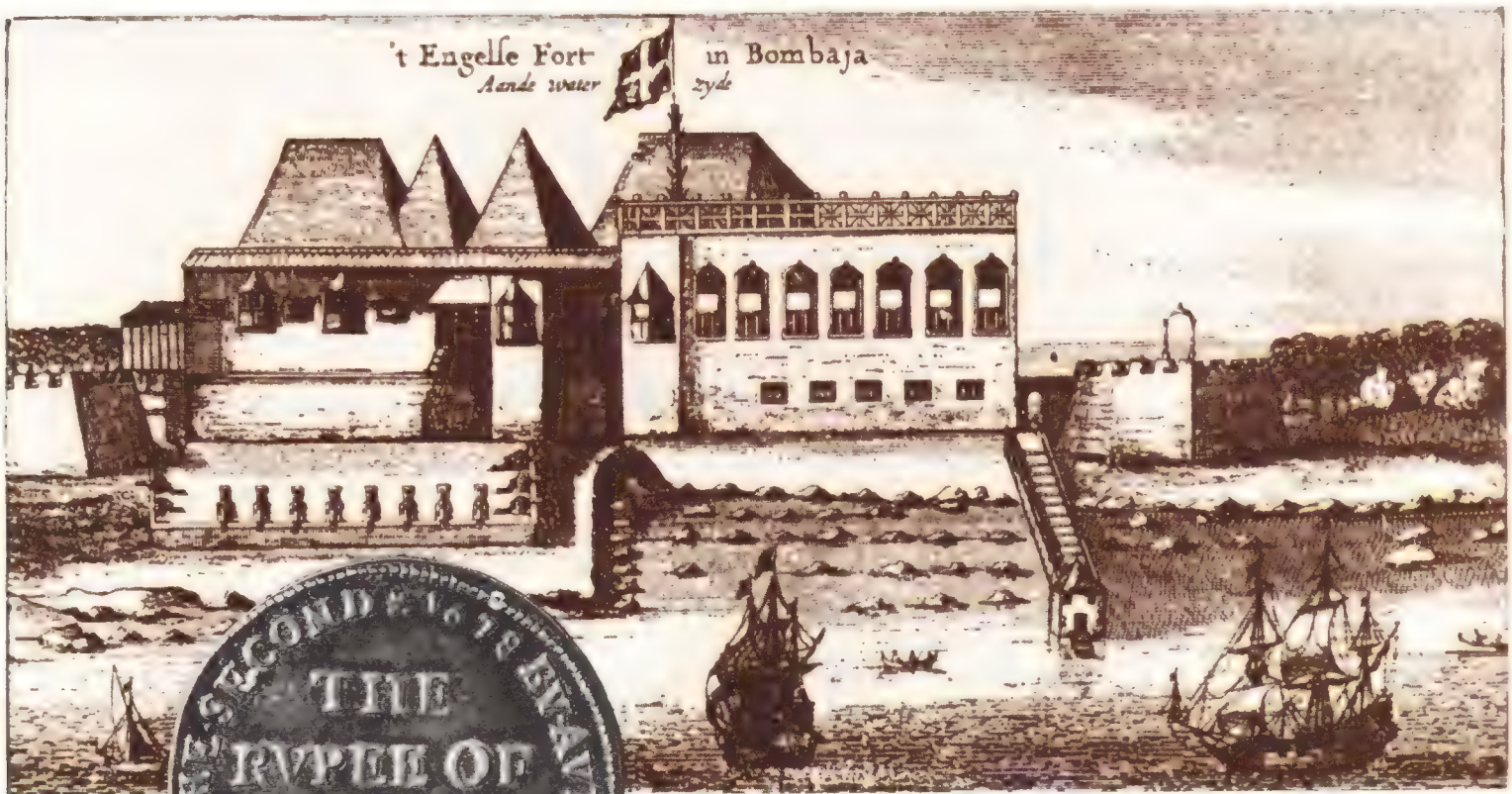
When in 1657 the despairing Company finally threatened to withdraw from the East altogether, Cromwell issued a fresh charter – to a new Company formed by amalgamating the old one with that established by Courteen in 1635. The Restoration, in 1660, brought yet another charter from Charles II. Under its terms the Company had the right to coin money, wage war with its own army and exercise jurisdiction over English subjects in India. Armed with these rights, the Company would eventually be able to march forward to Empire in the East.

Conflicts at home might be resolved, but India itself remained in turmoil. The Mughal Empire was still slowly expanding, and, from 1653, when Aurangzeb had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, the pressure southwards increased. It took Aurangzeb nearly 50 years to conquer the southern kingdoms, in the process creating considerable confusion and, in some areas, chaos. Even in the older, presumably settled imperial dominions there was a breakdown of law and order. The Company's trading caravans were often looted and its agents murdered.

During the Mughal drive southwards, other Indian states emerged to challenge the Mughal rule. The greatest threat was to come from the Marathas, tough, low-caste Hindu cultivators from Maharashtra in western India. Their leader was the former robber-chief Sivaji, the son of a military officer in the service of the Sultan of Bijapur. As a wild young adventurer of 19, Sivaji set about carving his own empire from the Sultan's domains. Confronted by the Sultan's 10,000-strong army, he invited the opposing general to talks, then literally clawed his way to power by stabbing his guest in the stomach with a multi-pronged dagger known as a "tiger's claw."

The English would have been wiser to remain aloof from the conflict between Sivaji and the Sultan of Bijapur, but they could not resist interfering. In 1660 they provided mortars to the Sultan for an attack on Sivaji. The loan rebounded on the lender. Sivaji raided the Company's agency at Rajapur, captured the English merchants and kept them in dungeons until they were ransomed a year later.

After this lesson, the English began to look around for a site on which to build themselves a fort. At Surat they felt exposed. But where could they go? Fortunately, a royal marriage came to their rescue. In 1662, Charles II married the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. Part of her dowry was the Portuguese settlement on the island of



The East India Company's fort rising above the swampy creeks of Bombay island became the Company's overseas headquarters in 1672. Its copper rupees (left), at first scorned by mainland Indians, soon became the accepted local currency.

Catherine of Braganza, Charles II's Portuguese bride, brought Bombay as part of her dowry. Charles transferred this valuable port to the East India Company in 1668.

Bombay, and although the Portuguese Governor there at first refused to accept the transfer, in 1665 Bombay became English. Crown rule, however, was both chaotic and too expensive for Charles's liking, and his Governor, Henry Gary, was irascible, arbitrary, cruel and inefficient. Alexander Hamilton, a gossipy 18th-Century historian, recorded that Gary "condemned a man to be hanged on a Tuesday, and the Man suffered according to Sentence; but on Friday after, the poor dead Fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he could not comply with the Orders." In 1668, in exchange for a loan, the King handed Bombay over to the Company at an annual rental of £10.

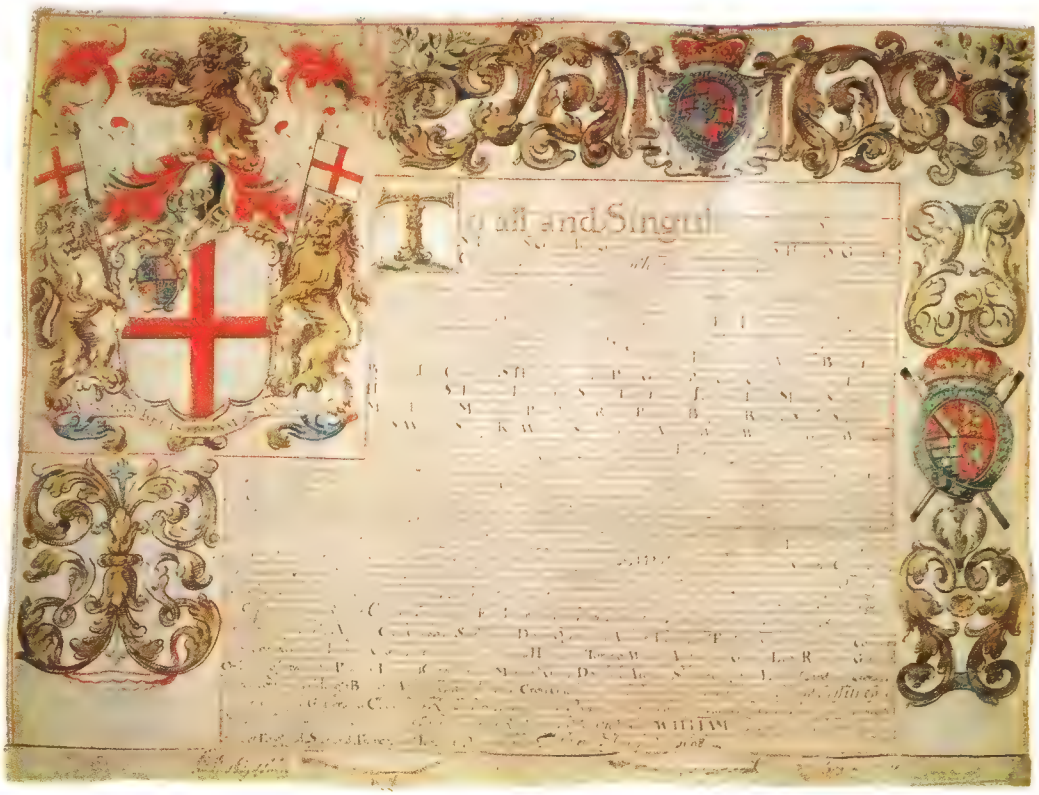
In 1669 the Company's new Governor, Gerald Aungier, began to fortify Bombay in order to ensure its safety as the new headquarters of the Company. This was necessary, as the Dutch were attacking Portuguese stations on the Malabar coast in their endeavour to capture a world monopoly in pepper, and it seemed likely that the English would be next. The French, meanwhile, on the founding of their own East India Company in 1664, began to establish factories on the same coast. Perhaps they too would in time pose a serious threat. It was a time, Aungier believed, for positive decision and action. "Justice and respect," he wrote to his employers in London, "is quite laid aside; the name of the Honourable Company and the English nation through our long, patient suffering of wrong is become slighted; our complaints, remonstrances, paper protests and threatenings, are laughed at. . . . The times now require you to manage your general commerce with your sword in your hand."

But things went from bad to worse. The Company still suffered from the activities of interlopers, some of whom achieved remarkable wealth and power. One was Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the first Earl of Chatham. A contemporary described him as "no better than a Pyrott," and as "a fellow of a haughty, huffying, daring temper." With his partner, Pitt operated a sloop mounting four guns and manned by 30 English sailors. Another interloper, one Captain Alley, went to visit the Mughal Police Chief in Bengal in a "splendid Equipage, habitted in Scarlet richly laced. Ten Englishmen in Blew Capps and Coats edged with Red, all armed with Blunderbusses, went before his palankeen, eighty Peons before them, and four Musicians playing on the Weights, with two Flaggs before him, like an Agent."

The interlopers' influence remained strong even though Sir Josiah Child – who directed the Company in London between 1677 and 1697 – had laid out £80,000 in bribes to the King and his courtiers in an attempt to buy official protection of the monopoly granted under the terms of the Company's charter.

But Child's intriguing, combined with his emotionalism and high-handedness, undermined rather than strengthened the Company's position. He held that "the laws of England are a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws"; understandably, he made enemies, some of them men of power who were anxious to break the Company's monopoly of Eastern trade for their own profit and that of their friends.

There followed bitter political infighting, which turned out to be a financial disaster for the Company. Though Child's "presents" and bribes produced a new charter in 1690, in 1694 the English Parliament passed a resolution against the Company's monopoly and gave its opinion that "all subjects of England have an equal right to trade in the East Indies unless prohibited by an Act of Parliament." Child's enemies then found out about the bribes and offered the government a loan of £2,000,000 in return for a charter for a new company, which they successfully founded in 1698 ❧



This 1698 charter was granted by the King to the "English" East India Company in a short-lived attempt to undermine the political power of the original "London" Company.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The Company's first arms bear an inspiring motto: God leading, we are safe.

At the end of 1600, on the eve of the New Year, Queen Elizabeth I signed and sealed a momentous document – the charter of the East India Company. The 125 London merchants, who had subscribed £72,000, ostensibly formed the joint-stock company "for the honour of this our realm." In fact, the highly profitable spice and pepper trade – then monopolized by Dutch merchants – was the reason for the birth of the Company.

The East India Company, however, was not just a business concern – it was the curtain-raiser for Britain's Indian Empire. Within two centuries the Company, with its own army and navy, ruled India from its London base.

Sir Thomas Smyth, whose diplomatic and business connections with Russia and Virginia had given him a knowledge of international trade, became the first Governor of the East India Company in 1600.

Two ensigns of the Royal East India Volunt
– the Company's private army – kneel
chaplain consecrates the regimental Colours in 1

East India House in Leadenhall Street (left), built in 1648, was the Company's first permanent headquarters. It had outgrown its first office – three rooms in Sir Thomas Smyth's home – and its second in the slightly larger Crosby House. Now a thriving concern, the Company could afford spacious premises, with a large and elegant Court Room (below) where shareholders held tumultuous meetings.

Vignettes of Life in India

Although the hand-painted and printed fabrics of India came to be among the most valuable imports of the East India Company, at first they met with a cool reception. As late as 1643, the directors were sadly commenting that the coloured cottons "serve more to content and pleasure our friends than for any profit that ariseth from the sales." But the directors were capable merchants and they ordered designs to suit English taste, desiring "more white ground" instead of "the sad red grounds which are not so well accepted here."

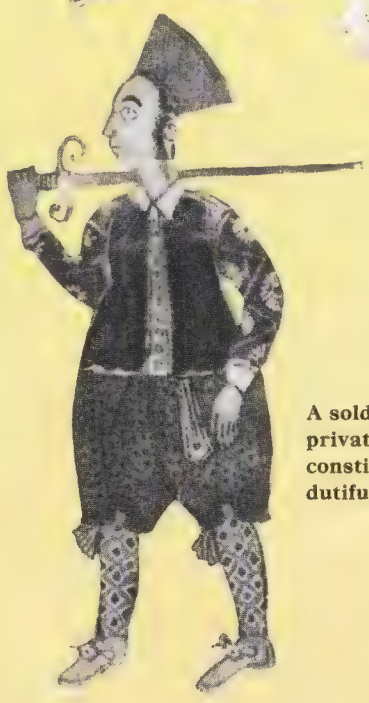
In response to the demand for Anglicized calicoes, the Indian artists employed to paint the fabrics took inspiration from the merchants they saw in the coastal towns, and portrayed Englishmen in their various activities – driving hard bargains with the natives, relaxing, being entertained and chatting about business. Details from one such fabric are shown here. The new-look calicoes were so enthusiastically received that soon the directors were sending out sample sketches of Englishmen in their home settings for the Indian artists to copy. The results were successful beyond their fondest hopes: a huge demand developed at home in London and the provinces for curtains and dresses, hangings and waistcoats and tablecloths made of these fabrics.

Two European merchants, one in gaily flower-sprigged trousers, raise their hats in a cordial gesture in their portraits by an Indian artist on this hand-painted fabric.

The life of the East is re-created by tiny brush strokes on this fabric. Indians cluster round a flagpole outside the elaborately ornamented, impressionistic trading-factory, in which two English merchants pass the time by chatting about business matters.

The skilful Indian artist caught the aloof expression of this European, who – like an Indian prince – reclines luxuriously in a palanquin.

Exotic Indian instruments, including the long-stemmed sitar and the resonant drum called a "tabla," accompany a group of singers and dancers who entertained the merchants in their leisure-hours.



A soldier – perhaps a forerunner of the private Company troops formally constituted in the 18th Century – parades dutifully with sword over his shoulder.

Building the Great Spice Fleet

Ships to carry the silks and spices of the Orient were the most urgent requirement of the East India Company, and in 1609 it opened a dockyard at Deptford. To one contemporary historian this marked the start of the "increase of great ships in England" that followed the triumph of the island's sailors over the Armada.

The first vessel built was the hopefully named *Trades' Increase*, closely followed by the *Peppercorn*. At 1,293 tons, the *Trades' Increase* was the largest ship ever constructed in England. Its launching was a great social event: King James I and other guests were given a sumptuous feast on dishes and silver that had been brought back by the Company.

Despite its auspicious beginning, the *Trades' Increase* was clumsy and unwieldy, and she came to a sad end at Bantam in Java where she burned to the waterline. At the end of the 1620s, the Company turned from building its own ships to chartering private vessels built to the Company's specifications. The long line of magnificent East Indiamen that followed became world-renowned in the next two centuries for the regularity with which they delivered their cargoes of muslin, silks, spices and tea.

The Money brothers, like many other officials of the East India Company, built ships designed for the Company's needs. To prevent this practice, which led to corruption, directors were banned in 1708 from chartering their own vessels to the Company.

Paintings of majestic East Indiamen from three angles, like this mid-18th-Century work, were frequently commissioned by proud captains.

Under the bored eyes of stevedores, bundles and packages mysteriously inscribed in Indian characters rest on the London dock after being unloaded from East Indiamen. Horse-drawn carts wait to carry the cargoes to warehouses.

III. The First Steps to Empire

In India, as at home, the Company suffered from the extravagant costs involved in Josiah Child's high-handed methods. Salaries were cut and petty economies enforced.

In Bombay, the new miserliness resulted in protests from the Company's garrison, never happy with its merchant bosses. Soldiers received their pay in local copper coinage that had no value on the mainland. Decrying the "intolerable extortions, oppressions and unjust impositions," the commander of the garrison – one Richard Keigwin – assumed authority in Bombay in the name of the King. It was a remarkably gentlemanly – and effective – rebellion. Keigwin tightened up the defence, and in 1687 displayed his strength when a Mughal admiral arrived to winter in Bombay – as usual without English agreement. Keigwin ordered him to leave, and he went. A year later, Keigwin, who paid salaries, completed fortifications and administered finances with commendable efficiency, surrendered quietly to a fleet sent from England by Charles and received a complete pardon.

Keigwin's short-lived rebellion seemed to convince the autocratic Josiah Child that he had wider responsibilities. In 1687, he made a remark which has since been frequently quoted. It was the duty of the Company, he said, so to proceed as to lay "the foundations of a large well-guarded sure English dominion in India for all time to come." Events, he said, were forcing the Company "into a sovereign state in India."

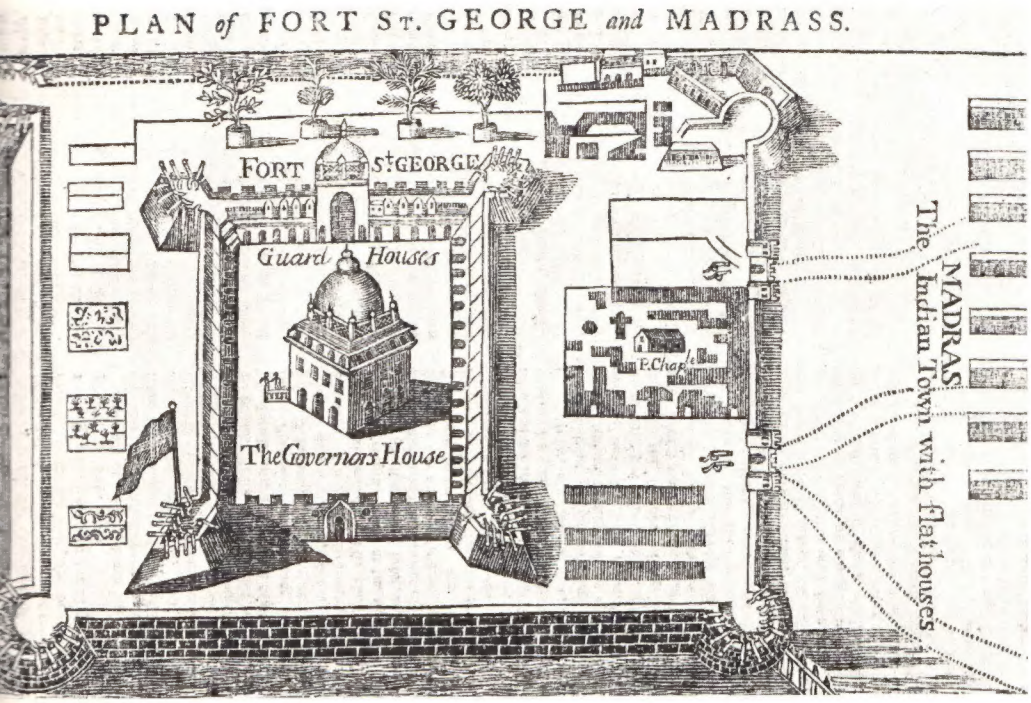
By the turn of the century, his confidence seemed justified. The Company's territorial possessions, as distinct from agencies or trading-stations, were four in number – Fort St. George in Madras; Bombay; Calcutta – these three were governed by Presidents and therefore called "Presidencies"; the fourth was Fort St. David opposite the town of Cuddalore on the Coromandel coast. The freebooting Marathas, who had acquired Cuddalore, sold the site with all the land "within ye randome shott of a piece of ordnance" – a method of disposing of real estate which so appealed to the English that they sent to Madras for the gun with the longest range, and instructed that "it lyes in the gunner's art to load and fire it to the best advantage." This demarcation by artillery was made in September, 1690 – the villages enclosed are known to this day as *Gundu Gramam*, or "cannonball villages" – and Fort St. David built.

The Company had by now firmly recognized that "though our business is only trade, we dare not trade boldly nor leave great stocks . . . where we have not the security of a fort." But they had also begun to see that forts like this were the beginning of the sovereignty to which Josiah Child had looked forward. A fort gave not only protection to the English but to those Indians who lived under its shadow. Why should these Indians not pay something towards their own protection? Soon the English were collecting taxes of various types.

Bengal in the 1680s was also well on the way to local sovereignty. The Company owed its position there to a man who captured the imagination of British and Indian alike: Job Charnock. The Company's first factories in Bengal, established after the great famine of 1630, had developed considerably by 1682 when the first mention appears of the "honest Mr. Charnock . . . a person that has served us faithfully above twenty years, and hath never . . . been a prowler for himself beyond what was just and modest."

A rough, ill-educated man, Job Charnock had spent his life in India in isolated places, and had become almost an Indian himself. The chronicler Alexander Hamilton, ever ready to retail a spicy or scandalous story, related how Charnock went with his personal bodyguard to enjoy a suttee, the Hindu custom in which the widow either voluntarily threw herself, or was forcefully thrown, into the funeral pyre of her dead husband. Charnock, however, was so attracted by the youthful and pretty widow that he rescued her by force. They lived together for 14 years, and on her death Charnock erected an elegant tomb in her honour.

As Agent in Bengal, Charnock's style of living was orientally luxurious. Since his salary ranged between £20 and £40 a year, his "just and modest" private



The massive bastions of Fort St. George, built in 1641, housed the headquarters of the East India Company's factories on the Coromandel coast for more than one hundred years.

At Madras, where the lack of a harbour made landing a lengthy and awkward operation, massulah-boats, constructed of wood and coconut fibre, carried passengers to shore.

trade must have been of considerable size.

Charnock's credit was not great enough to overawe the Mughal Governor, who sent an army against him when he refused to pay extra customs dues. Charnock was forced to flee from Bengal down-river. In the process he created his own legend among Indians. With a great burning-glass, he is said to have roasted the whole river-front, and with his good English sword to have slashed through a massive iron chain thrown across the river to prevent him from passing. When news of Charnock's flight reached London, Sir Josiah Child, never a man to accept humiliation, declared war on the whole Mughal Empire and dispatched ten armed ships and 600 men to conquer all India. It was a foolhardy enterprise, and the tiny British force never established itself on land, but the Company's ships attacked Mughal vessels in the western seas so successfully that the Emperor, Aurangzeb, was persuaded to make peace in February, 1690, on condition that the English agreed "to behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner" and to pay an indemnity.

In the same year the Company was permitted to return to Bengal, and Charnock founded the city of Calcutta on what had been a malarial swamp. Until his death there three years later, according to Hamilton, Charnock "reigned more absolutely than a *Rajah*, only he wanted much of their Humanity, for when any poor ignorant Native transgressed his Laws, they were sure to undergo a severe whipping for a Penalty and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, so near his Dining-room that the Groans and Cries . . . served him for Music."

In 1696, the English were given leave to fortify Calcutta, and a fort – named in 1699 Fort William, in honour of the Dutch King of England – was erected.

Thus were the foundations of sovereignty laid in Bengal. But further south, Madras was already treated as a sovereign possession. In 1687, it had become the first of the Company's possessions to receive a charter from England to form itself into a municipality. At that time the local Indian ruler was weak, and the English were anxious to consolidate their position. Elihu Yale, Governor of Madras from 1687 until 1692, applied anti-piracy laws with great severity, against Indians and English alike. There is a story that he hanged his own English groom on a charge of piracy; the actual crime consisted of the servant's having taken his master's horse and stayed away for two nights. (In later life, having made a fortune in private trade, Yale, once a native of Boston, Massachusetts, achieved more lasting fame by making a donation to the University in New Haven, Connecticut which is named in his honour.) Five years after Yale's departure, the Company insured against piracy in a novel way: it made a deal with one of the principal interlopers, Thomas Pitt, and appointed him Governor of Madras – where he made a fortune. He also acquired the famous Pitt diamond – which eventually ended up among the British Crown Jewels – perhaps in the manner suggested by Alexander Pope in his *Moral Essays*:

Asleep and naked as an Indian lay
An honest factor stole a gem away.

Pitt's major task for his new employer was to face the new local Nawab appointed by Aurangzeb. Observing that the English there were living in considerable luxury, the new official decided to extract some profit from them. When he

was appointed, the English had sent him a present of blunderbusses, fowling-pieces, looking-glasses and other exotic items of European manufacture. The Nawab, however, found the offerings too small. In July, 1701, backed by 10,000 troops, both horse and foot, he appeared outside Madras. The English offered another present, which he refused. But when Governor Pitt brought up marines and made other warlike preparations, the Nawab appeared to be intimidated. He accepted the present after all, and went to dine with Mr. Pitt. A Persian chef was brought in, and a "light" meal of 600 dishes prepared. There were "dancing wenches" to entertain them, and so much liquor flowed that the Nawab passed out. The next year, encouraged by his success, the Nawab again blockaded the city and this time had to be bought off for 25,000 rupees.

Governor Pitt wrote a letter of complaint directly to the central government of the Mughal Empire and as compensation in 1708 he extended the Company's territory with the grant of five villages near Madras. But Pitt also received a communication from the Emperor's Chief Minister, graciously reminding him that the Company had not yet sent the usual "presents." A list of acceptable trinkets was enclosed for the Governor's guidance. It included:

"Birds of the Sorts of Manila Parrots, Newries, Cocatores, etc, or of any sort that can speak, of a good colour and shape. . . .

"China Ware, what ever is Rare and Fine of any kind or sort, the older the better. The Dishes called Ghoorees, which break when Poyson is put into them, will be very acceptable. . . .

"Gold and Silver plate, Manilha work (Philigreen); Vessels of Silver, Gold plate enamell'd, Europe work, if to be had, will do.

"Europe fusees; one or two small field pieces, etc. Gunns will not be amiss. . . ."

But the Company itself was in a poor way and could ill afford such presents. Its profits remained small for many reasons. Bullion still had to be exported from England in exchange for the goods sent back. Company employees, who acted in effect as middlemen, made sure that they skimmed off the cream of the profits to live in style. Diplomacy, too, cost money: in 1717, for example, the English acquired an imperial order confirming their position in Bengal – but only after a two-year wait and a gift to the Emperor of £70,000, an enormous sum at the time.

Indian politics, too, worked against the Company. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughal Empire began to decline. As the central government became weak, so the parts began to assert themselves. Local officials declared themselves independent, or at least acted as if they were. The anarchy they were to create was later to offer an opportunity to the Europeans to stake their own claim to Empire, but the immediate effect was to increase the insecurity of those Europeans who were on the spot.

For a time further disaster seemed imminent when the Company – London-based and pro-Stuart – was challenged by William of Orange and the traders of Bristol, Liverpool and Hull after the 1688 Revolution which threw out James II. In 1698, William authorized a new company, the English – as opposed to the London – East India Company, but competition proved so disastrous to both that the two companies merged in 1708

Despite the difficulties, the English had staked their claim. They lived as well as they could and enjoyed the luxuries India had to offer. They built themselves elegant houses and behaved as if they were in India to stay.

There seemed, as yet, to be no challenge from the great rival-to-be, France. One Englishman dismissed the French settlement at Chandernagore in Bengal as merely a few houses, and "a pretty little church to hear Mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal." He was very wrong. French commercial enterprise was on the increase and as the Mughal Empire fell slowly apart, the Europeans were drawn into the vortex. To ensure their own survival, the merchants were about to transform themselves into generals and princes.

Thomas Coryat, an early English tourist in India shown riding an elephant, became a a favourite of the Emperor, Jahangir, because his command of Hindustani was so good that he could joke in that language.

Order your Empire Coin Collection now – it's a mint of money!

This week's green token is the fourth and final one you will need to order your set of Empire coins – 15 real coins in mint condition. Your collection is guaranteed to have a current catalogue value of at least £2. But it's offered to you for only £1.10. This offer is exclusive to readers of *The British Empire*.

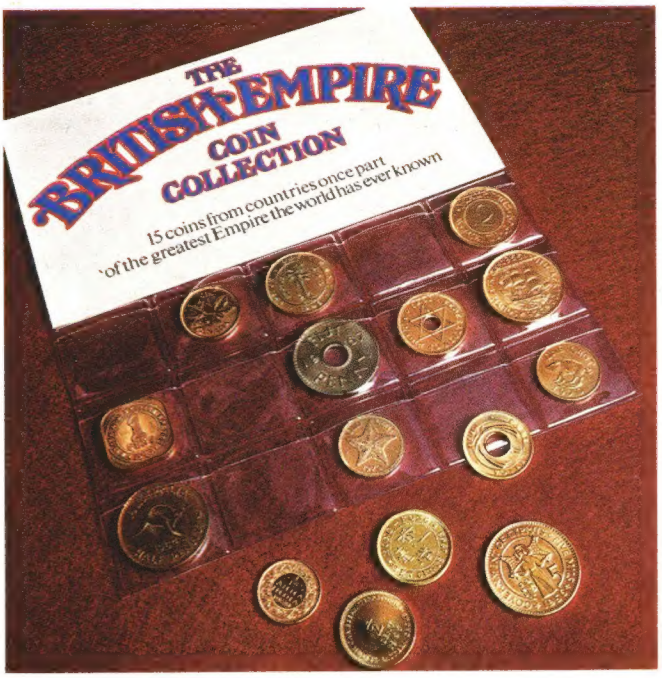
These coins have never been in circulation.

Although your set will consist of genuine currency – real money officially minted – the coins come to you in uncirculated condition. So they are free from the blemishes invariably caused when coins start to circulate in daily life.

The coins have been selected immediately after minting, and carefully preserved for collectors since then. This is what makes them worth more than usual – over the years, uncirculated coins have increased in value.

From all over the Empire

Each set contains a selection of 15 coins from countries once part of the British Empire. It may include currency from India, Ceylon, Bermuda, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Africa and many others. The exact contents of each set may very slightly according to the availability of certain coins – but it will in every case have a guaranteed value of £2 or more.



All the coins have been struck in the reigns of King George VI or Queen Elizabeth II. They will be supplied in a handy protective wallet of clear plastic.

Don't wait – order now

Your order must be received by 14th April, so don't delay. To obtain this interesting and valuable collection, just send the order form below, with your remittance and four green tokens. Please allow 28 days for delivery. Your money will be refunded if you return the collection within 10 days.

Every set of coins will be accompanied by a valuation certificate from the 'Yeoman' catalogue for £2 or more (which can only increase if the upward trend in coin values continues).

All offers applicable to the British Isles only.

Save £2.50 on this fascinating reproduction antique globe!

Usual price £5.75 – yours for only £3.25 and 4 tokens.

This handsome replica of a centuries old globe gives a fascinating glimpse of the world as our forefathers imagined it.

Full of colourful detail

Every inch of its surface is covered with names and pictures conjuring up the whole colourful epic of early exploration.

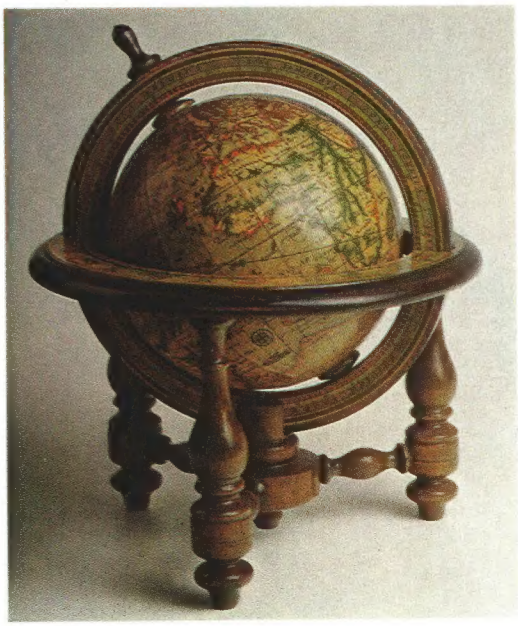
On the mountings are marked degrees of latitude and climatic zones, together with the signs of the zodiac – an intriguing comment on the era when the young science of navigation lived happily with the age-old art of astrology.

Handsome antiqued appearance

Reproduced in full colour with an antiqued finish, the globe revolves on its craftsmen-made stand of dark, well polished wood. It measures over 9″ in height and approximately 7½″ in overall diameter – the ideal size for display in living-room, study or office. It would make a most impressive gift.

Keep collecting your tokens

For a superbly decorative globe of this quality you would normally have to pay about £5.75. As a regular reader of *The British Empire*, however, you are privileged to receive it for only £3.25 and four brown tokens. The last token, together with the order form, will appear in issue number 8. Meanwhile, please *keep your tokens carefully – they are valuable.*



Exclusive import

At such an exceptionally low price this must obviously be a very special offer, and it is in fact limited to only 750 exclusively imported globes.

How the token scheme works

Each week, there are two tokens on the inside front cover of *The British Empire*. This week, there's the fourth green British Empire Coin Collection token and the second brown globe token. Each week, you should collect these tokens to take advantage of the exciting offers that are on their way. And every week, as you collect towards the current offer, you'll be getting a start towards the next.

Note: If you miss a token, your newsagent will be able to order the appropriate back number of *The British Empire* for you.

To: Empire Coin Collection, 17 Thame Park Road, Thame, Oxon. Please send me a collection of 15 coins. I enclose four green tokens and a cheque or postal order for £1.10 (made payable to Time-Life International).

BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE

Name .....

Full postal address .....

Privates, Royal Artillery, 1807